India

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NOTES AND NEWS.

Once more the "spirit of unrest" (to adopt Lord George Hamilton's euphemism) is abroad in the wild regions beyond the North-West frontier of British India, for the "mad Fakir" (so-called, one is to suppose, because if he were sane he would joyfully welcome British aggression) is controlling the movements, and disturbing the sleep, of the Government of India. We refer elsewhere to the recent telegrams which seem to show that the retention of Chitral, by order of the Secretary of State, is now seen to be as dangerous as it was discreditable to British honour. Even officials and their obedient scribes are now able to perceive that, as the whole tribal region cannot be held in force by our troops, and as isolated posts sprinkled over it are sources rather of irritation and of danger than of peaceful security, we should have done better to keep our word and avoid occupation. As it is the Fakir, who is much less mad than the "forward" school, is able to act upon the military authorities in India pretty much as a magnet acts on iron filings. Or, to vary the metaphor, he has them on a string. The events of the past few days would be highly amusing if they were less grave. On November 16 a telegram from Simla mentioned reports from Malakand that the Fakir with 600 men had moved to the Mandani in the Upper Swat Valley, and that he intended to "raise a disturbance against the British." A week later (November 22) another Simla telegram reported that he had retired. "It is doubtful"—so Reuter said—"whether he will carry out his threats." Still the military authorities were "taking all precautions." Next, a Bombay telegram, dated November 26, announced that the Fakir had been "unsuccessful in stirring up the tribes," that the advance of the Swat movable column (which had been ordered to Chakdara) had in consequence been countermanded, and that there was "no likelihood of present trouble."

Such was the condition of blissful ignorance in Bombay on November 26. Yet, two days later, a further telegram announced that on November 25 the Fakir, with a force of 7,000 men (his force, it will be seen, multiplied by ten in as many days) had fought and won two battles. "Mad Fakir," Lord Elgin telegraphed to the India Office, "has crossed Swat River and engaged tribes on right bank. I have sanctioned advance of movable column Chakdara and Guides in support." Later news shows that the Fakir has obtained further reinforcements, and won more engagements. According to telegrams printed in yesterday's (Thursday's) papers, he was, late on Wednesday night, threatening the Chitral road, and intends to attack Chakdara and Malakand. The recurrence of these names is significant. For it was in breach of Lord Elgin's now famous Proclamation that a permanent road to Chitral was constructed, and posts were fortified at Chakdara and the Malakand. Why are these points the "mad" Fakir's objective? Why were they the objective of the tribesmen in the war of last year? To ask the question is to answer it.

What the Indian National Congress and the other opponents of the "forward" policy have said from the first is now being said in rather unexpected quarters. We cite on another page passages from the valuable telegram sent by the Allahabad correspondent of the *Times* on Tuesday, practically recommending withdrawal from Chitral and Swat. Not less significant was the leading article in Thursday's *Standard*. "Five thousand troops," the writer remarked, "are locked up in Chitral and on the Malakand. The connecting road and intervening country are in the hands of a chief who, though his loyalty may not be doubted, has not always been tractable, whose friendship with the Indian Government makes him unpopular both with his own subjects and with neighbouring tribesmen, and who could never hope to hold his own without frequent help. Whether, as seems to be thought in India, the present disturbance will induce the British authorities to make an immediate instead of a gradual change in its policy with regard to Chitral remains to be seen. Much, of course, will depend on how matters develop." Contrast all this with Lord George Hamilton's reply (House of Commons, February 17, 1896) to Sir William Wedderburn's amendment deploring the retention of Chitral:

> Before sitting down he (Lord G. Hamilton) congratulated his friends behind him that the first time they had to give a party vote last year they were actuated by true political instincts when, by an overwhelming majority, they assented to this forward movement. He believed there had been no forward movement in recent years made by any Government which had been more beneficial to all concerned, and which would tend to put an end to those periodical disturbances and outbreaks of fanaticism and terrorism which had characterised that portion of her Majesty's dominions. (Ministerialist cheers.)

Those "Ministerialist cheers," we fancy, would be somewhat to seek in these latter days. Unfortunately Lord George Hamilton has learned his lesson (as usual) at the expense of the taxpayers of India who, if they had any control over their own affairs, would never have permitted the "forward" school to dominate the policy of the Indian Government.

We really must begin to send a reporter to Lord George Hamilton's meetings, since (Secretary of State though he is) his eloquence is reduced to the baldest and scrappiest summary, if it is not altogether ignored, by the daily newspapers. His address to his constituents at Acton on Wednesday night evidently contained some references to India of which it would be interesting to have the full text. As it is, one cannot be at all sure how much the writer of the summary has been compelled to omit. We gather, however, from the *Times* that Lord G. Hamilton stated, and his audience cheered the statement, that "the prospects of Indian prosperity were most satisfactory." Did he, or did he not, condescend to particulars? Then he observed that "his Parliamentary difficulties in connexion with India had been slight indeed":

> Whenever any serious difficulty had arisen in India which in any degree affected our rule he was as absolutely certain of the support of his predecessor—Sir Henry Fowler—as he was of any of his own colleagues. (Cheers).

This is not the first testimonial which Lord G. Hamilton has given to Sir Henry Fowler, and we commend it to the notice of three different sets of persons: (1) the people of India; (2) Sir H. Fowler's colleagues on the Front Opposition Bench; and (3) the Liberal party in Wolverhampton. For, of course, Lord G. Hamilton's phrase "whenever any serious difficulty had arisen in India which in any degree affected our rule" really means "whenever any Indian matter of importance had arisen in the House of Commons."

It seems, however, that the House of Commons contains persons less agreeable to Lord George Hamilton than Sir Henry Fowler always is. There are "one or two Irish members"—not named—"who dislike British rule wherever it exists." Moreover,

> there was a small section of people—some of them natives—whose

object seemed to be to do everything they could to disparage our rule in India, and to call in question the motives of those placed in authority—in short, to misrepresent their objects and their policy. As illustrations of this criticism he mentioned the attacks made by Sir William Wedderburn and others in the House of Commons connected with the methods adopted for the suppression of the plague, and the grave allegations made against certain officials at Poona. Those criticisms and allegations were proved to be inaccurate.

It is a passage like this that makes one desiderate a full report. What were "the grave allegations made against certain officials at Poona"? We have not heard of them. What were the "criticisms and allegations" that were "proved to be inaccurate"? We challenge Lord George Hamilton to mention even one. There was, indeed, an allegation (not against officials) which was not proved to be accurate, and into which Lord G. Hamilton was invited to enquire. But when, we should like to know, was it proved to be inaccurate? For the rest, the Parliamentary criticisms upon Lord G. Hamilton's Poona policy have been admitted to be accurate by the most effective of all modes of admission—namely, by the abandonment of the policy criticised and the adoption of the policy commended. If Lord G. Hamilton really used the sentences converted into *oratio obliqua* by the *Times*, he has been guilty of a gross slander which cannot be excused even in a Minister smarting under the criticism justly provoked by his astounding succession of inconsistent and unsupported accusations against his untried prisoners, the Sirdars Natu.

Finally, it seems that Lord G. Hamilton

complained of the misrepresentation made in a weekly Native newspaper, wherein he as Secretary of State was alleged to have described the natives of India as "savages."

Let him name the "weekly Native newspaper," whose "misrepresentation" may be estimated from the following passage in a speech delivered by Lord G. Hamilton to his constituents on June 29 last. We have cited the passage before from the *Middlesex County Times*, to whose columns we had to turn for a tolerably full report of the speech:—

If he turned to the department for which he was responsible—India—he thought they might congratulate themselves and the Indian Government on successfully surmounting plague, famine, war and sedition. There was one thing he was not good-tempered about. He did not care for personal attacks upon himself, as he had been long enough in politics to know the exact value of personalities of that character; but he could not stand the attacks made upon their fellow-countrymen in positions of tremendous responsibility who at great risks to their lives were striving to maintain the prestige of the British flag. If their empire abroad was extending to an immeasurably greater extent than that of any other country, one of the main reasons of that advance and progress was that there were any number of young men who at any moment when they were called upon were ready to go to a savage, foreign country taking their lives in their hands, and by force of character and foresight they were enabled in an immeasurably short time to establish humanity and civilised order.

Will Lord G. Hamilton deny that in this passage he suggested that India was a "savage, foreign country"? If so, he must have been talking irrevelant and mischievous nonsense.

Our Indian readers will be glad to learn that on Wednesday last (November 30) Mr. Romesh C. Dutt, C.I.E., gave evidence before the Committee on Currency. His examination lasted some three hours, and it may safely be assumed that he made good use of the opportunity to impress upon the Committee the facts which are of chief importance from the point of view of the Indian taxpayer. His evidence will not be made public until the Currency Committee, which chooses to sit in secret, issues another Blue-book. But from Mr. Dutt's letter to the *Manchester Guardian* (recently reproduced in our columns) it may probably be inferred that he laid stress upon the effects which an artificial enhancement of the value of the rupee would have in increasing taxation and indebtedness in India, and in partially confiscating the savings made by Indian peasants in the form of silver ornaments. Before giving evidence Mr. Dutt lunched with the Committee and with Sir Alexander Mackenzie, who gave his evidence on the same day.

Much has been written in India lately upon the strangling of the sugar manufacture by foreign competition and the stringency of money due to the closing of the mints, at the very time when the sugar manufacture of the West Indies is being encouraged by bounties. The *Indian Daily News* states the facts thus:—

The sugar question, on which the Government want more light just now, is one in which the statistics of the Government of India are very deficient, for the internal sugar trade is a subject about which little seems to be known. India, according to Mr. Robertson, has steadily increased its import of sugar—an import which might well, if India was developed, be converted into an export. In 1893-4, 2·12 million cwt. came in, and this import rose to 4·6 million cwt. valued at 4·7 crores of rupees, in 1897-98, when there was an increase of 61 per cent. more than in the previous year. This was of course in consequence of the countervailing duty in the United States, which shut out bounty-fed sugar, and it had to seek places where it was not so shut out. Nearly half of the imported sugar comes from Mauritius, but the import from there is comparatively stationary, and it is Germany and Austria that supply it in increasing quantities. Germany, in 1893, sent 189,000 cwt.; in 1887, it sent 1·2 million cwt., against 1·77 million cwt. sent by Mauritius. The Austrian import increased from 11,000 cwt. in 1893 to 11,500 cwt. in 1896, and 945,000 cwt. in 1897. China imports are decreasing and uncertain; although large last year, they were much less than in 1893, while the Java trade seems likely to increase. These figures, being Custom House figures, are reliable.

Our readers may remember the illegal impressment of beasts of burden in the Punjab for service beyond the frontier. Then the sufferers were ignorant peasants, and it was long before the outside world knew the true facts. Another case of impressment—this time by the police—has now been brought forward by Mr. W. S. Irwin, of Soogong, Champarun, who has printed an account of the matter from which the *Pioneer* and the *Friend of India* quote freely. It seems that the police impressed two carts to carry grain into Nepal. Mr. Irwin remonstrated, alleging that the carts, being then under agreement to work for his factory, were not liable, and he thus began a long battle. The very next day two other carts were seized and released on bribes, a third cart being taken from a man too poor to bribe. Mr. Irwin found that his was no isolated case. One factory manager wrote that he had been called on to despatch 20 bullocks, which would have meant the stoppage of half his mills, while another said that a cart was kept for seventeen days, the bullocks returning in a wretched state. A third accused the police of impressing carts without necessity in order subsequently to release them for a bribe. To the incidents of Mr. Irwin's six months' contest with the police we have no space to do justice. Suffice it to say that it included two fabricated charges of *looting*, in one of which he was himself among the accused, and a charge of assault for which several of his servants were fined, and in which an appeal is now being prosecuted. Some questions, however, may be asked. How far is the corruption of the police due to the "starvation" of the inferior branches of the Government service? Is it possible for Europeans, and often young Europeans, to have complete control of the subordinates on whom they have to depend almost exclusively for information? And is it yet recognised that the effect of flouting and repulsing educated and independent Indians is to force the Anglo-Indians to rely more than ever for their knowledge of the country and its people on the minor officials and the police?

Calcutta has been for some time declared free from plague, and the visitation of which the very existence has been doubted might have been thought to have no effect save such as resulted from the measures of prevention and the riots they gave rise to. But this would be a great mistake. On the contrary the plague has been most useful to the Government. In spite of its speedy departure it has led the Government to the discovery that the sanitation of Calcutta has been neglected by the municipality which must henceforth be put under European control. But this is not all. It has now been decided that as plague may possibly recur, two out of seven (why two?) departments—the Public Works and Military—are to remain among the snows of Simla during the winter instead of returning to Calcutta. Last week we noticed the innovation made in passing the Central Provinces Tenancy Act in a Council held at the Hills. There are not wanting many who think that the plan of keeping two departments at Simla during the winter is the thin end of the wedge for which the plague serves only as the excuse, the real purpose being to remove all the departments to the Hills. If that be so, Calcutta is to be no longer the seat of Indian Government, which is to be entirely removed from the chief centre of public opinion. It is understood that the opposition of the minor officials will be bought off by a generous allowance which it has been calculated will be about sufficient to provide the extra blankets needed at Simla.

A curious case under the new Sedition Act has just been decided on appeal. According to the report in the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, Mani Chatri, headman of the coolies on the Lizzipur Tea Estate, spread a report that war was about to break out between Nepal and the British Government and that the latter would slaughter all the coolies. The coolies fled, and Mani Chatri was prosecuted by the manager of the estate under the clause of the new Act which provides

for the punishment of any person who makes, publishes or circulates any statement, rumour or report with intent to cause, or which is likely to cause, fear or alarm to the public, or to any section of the public whereby any person may be induced to commit an offence against the state or against the public tranquillity.

The Joint-Magistrate of Kurseong, after some hesitation, convicted the accused on the ground that though as a consequence of the rumour the men ran away and so committed no offence against the public tranquillity, they might have remained and beaten or killed the manager. The High Court refused to accept this view, holding that the coolies' flight was the result naturally to be expected from the rumour, and the suggestion that they might have risen against the manager was merely hypothetical. The Court said: "What seems to us to be the probable result of the report which he circulated was the result which in effect did take place." The conviction was therefore quashed; but the case is an interesting commentary on an Act professedly passed to make the law quite clear.

A general feeling of satisfaction is manifested in the Indian Press that a unanimous verdict against the accused was obtained in the Poonamallee shooting case. It is true that he was only convicted on the least serious of the counts, but it is not so long ago since it seemed impossible to obtain a verdict against a European at all in such cases. Nor has the sentence of nine months' rigorous imprisonment evoked much criticism, though it has naturally been asked if the same sentence would have been passed on an Indian who had killed a European boy under similar circumstances. The *Amrita Bazar Patrika* calls attention to another matter connected with this wretched affair—the conduct of the assistant-surgeon at the Station Hospital at Poonamallee. When the wounded boy was brought in covered with blood, he only, according to his own evidence, examined him slightly and then ordered his removal to the General Hospital. At the trial Dr. Readle declared that the journey from Poonamallee to the General Hospital was "likely to increase the shock" and that the removal of the boy in the condition he then was in was "very unwise." The soldiers, after the boy was shot, order the jutka to be driven on and leave him lying wounded in the road. The surgeon after a slight examination sends him off to another hospital. Everything was against the poor lad. What wonder that he died!

A case that lately occurred in Madras affords a new instance of the arbitrary conduct of those entrusted with the administration of plague measures. An Indian woman, Annammal, and her five children arrived with a passport, all having inoculation certificates in addition. Under the passport they should have presented themselves for examination, but the document gave no information as to the place at which or the officer before whom they were to appear. The wretched woman searched for two days to discover these things, and having failed, found herself and her children subjected to a criminal prosecution. When the case came before Mr. W. C. Clarke, the chief Presidency Magistrate, he took a very decided view.

It is in my opinion an abuse of the powers vested in those in authority for the purpose of plague inspection to institute proceedings of this character, which are of criminal nature; besides it serves no useful purpose and only causes misunderstanding of the plague rules, which should be carefully worked in order to prevent giving offence to the public.

He accordingly discharged the accused, and awarded Rs. 3 compensation. Are we to see the same overbearing abuse of authority in Madras which has already provoked riots and made all measures of plague prevention odious in Calcutta and Bombay? Are the Madras officials incapable of profiting by such decisive lessons as those which other parts of India have furnished?

We have already referred to the equitable decision of the Indian Government to defray a substantial portion of the plague expenses from the Imperial or Provincial Revenues. We have not yet learnt all the details, but meantime it is pleasant to notice the gallant fight which the President of the Poona Municipality made for his fellow-citizens, and the support which he received from Mr. Lamb, the Collector of Poona. Mr. Lamb, in his letter No. 6,724 of July 4, supports the arguments and contention of the chairman, Khan Bahadur Dorabji, and points out the justice of treating the extraordinary expenditure incurred in fighting the plague in the same way with the extraordinary expenditure incurred in fighting the famine.

We regret to record another death indirectly due to the plague operations in the south of India. Attempts to enforce plague measures in the Madras Presidency have led to riots, and Indian doctors and Indian officials run considerable risk in dealing with the mobs. As Mr. Chambers lately informed his English audiences, it is Native Indian officials who are as a rule entrusted with plague precautions in the villages and the hospitals. Their arduous performance of duty, their dangers and even death are not reported in this country, though anything untoward which happens to a European is made the subject of sensational articles if not of panic-stricken legislation. The victim to whom we refer was the brother of Mr. Iyer, late editor of the *Hindu*. He was killed by the mob when he was employed in putting up a frontier inspection station to keep out plague from Mysore.

Mr. Alexander Rogers writes: "A most persistent attempt is made in several of the 'Notes' at the commencement of last week's issue of INDIA to attribute the custom of not manuring lands to the poverty of the rayats not allowing them to buy manure, and to their being forced accordingly to use the dung of their cattle for domestic purposes, especially for fuel for domestic fires. Will you allow me to enlighten your readers to the fact that sufficient manure is always forthcoming, especially from village sweepings, for irrigated lands, where manure is mostly required, and that it is only in unirrigated lands that manure is not used. In many cases, as in that of the black cotton soil (*regar*), manure is deliberately not used because nature provides the natural manure of the nitrates required for the wants of vegetation deep down in the soil, and the long tap-roots of cotton and cereals draw this up spontaneously for its nutriment. I believe the fact is acknowledged by scientific investigators that the rain brings down from the atmosphere far more of these supplies of nitrogen in tropical than in temperate climates, and this accounts for the marvellous fertility of soils in India that continue in cultivation although unmanured for hundreds of years. Some of the lighter soils would no doubt have their productive powers temporarily, though not permanently, improved by being more manured than they now are; but it is as well to point out the real cause of the disappearance of those supplies of wood for fuel that now leads dung to be used for that purpose. The real causes are the increase of population and consequent increase of the area of cultivation, and the improvidence of the people themselves in gradually encroaching on, and finally virtually using up, the woods that formerly supplied that fuel without providing for the wants of the future by planting trees in the place of those cut down, and thus keeping up the supply. The fuel supply has in fact been annihilated, and would be unprocurable however rich the people were. The true remedy is that which the Indian Government have been long adopting by the establishment of a Forest Department to repair the carelessness and neglect of the past (long before the introduction of British rule) by re-afforesting the country, which has already produced marked results, a fact which anyone can ascertain for himself by a perusal of the annual Administration reports, especially those of the Forest Department. It is absurd, in view of the large exports of wheat and other produce from India, to talk of its soil not yielding sufficient food for its people. If such were the case, would not the higher price it would infallibly rise to in the country suffice to keep it there in place of its being exported? It is gratifying to be able to concur with one of your own remarks, that the Government officials are better aware of the point where the shoe pinches than the wearer of the shoe himself, however ironically you may have meant to speak."

THE NORTH-WEST CLOUD.

THE ink is scarcely dry on the elaborate "settlement" of the North-West frontier and the buzz of official self-congratulation is still in our ears. Yet while the negotiations with the Afridis were still in progress the clouds had begun to gather, and now in the Swat region they darken the heavens. On Wednesday the *Times* published a communication from its correspondent at Allahabad, giving a "history of the latest rising," which, he truly says, "is instructive." The "Mad" Fakir—and such is our singular use of language for sophistical purposes that "mad" in this case simply means "patriotic"—emerged from his retirement in Kohistan, and in October summoned our ally and creature the Nawab of Dir to join him in a fresh *jihad* on penalty of himself suffering attack. The Fakir set out with 200 Kohistani "fanatics"—that is to say, patriots—drew to him Azi-khels and others, and at the head of some 600 men "suddenly last Friday he marched rapidly down the Swat Valley twenty miles, crossed the river at Paitai, and attacked and defeated the Shamozais, subjects of the Nawab." Meantime Major Deane hurried down from Chitral to stiffen the weak spine of the Nawab, while the British garrison at Malakand looked to its powder.

> From Paitai the Fakir, declining to risk a reverse by moving against Chakdara, moved westward, into the Nikpi-Khel Valley, thus reaching a clan which took part in the rising last year, though it owes allegiance to Dir. It is believed that he is now making for the Salai Pass, which leads to Warai, a post on the Chitral road 30 miles south of Dir. If he succeeds in reaching this point, he will interrupt communication between Chakdara and Dir, and isolate the Nawab.

The British movable column, under Brigadier-General Reid—a thoroughly capable and experienced man—is keeping the Fakir under observation. A Reuter's telegram from Bombay of the same date (Tuesday) would like to be reassuring. The tribes, it says, have not joined him "to the extent he had expected," while the Manicans on the left bank of the Swat have assured Major Deane of their loyalty and promised to head off the Fakir from their territories. This is all very well, but then "men continue to join the Mullah"; and it is mere journalistic clap-trap to add that "the general feeling throughout the country is at present opposed to anything calculated to lead to disturbance." The governing fact is: "Men continue to join the Mullah."

The Allahabad correspondent of the *Times* says "the real danger in the background is a revolt of the Dir clans against the Nawab," though "there are no signs of disaffection at present." If the Fakir should dash between the Nawab and his protectors, the signs of disaffection would promptly enough undergo a notable clarification. Personally the Nawab is a weak contemptible creature, governing by an accident of an accident, and could not stand five minutes on his own feet if British protection were not manifest at his elbow. The plain fact is that the wretched creature is regarded as a traitor by his tribal neighbours. He is our paid man—paid to hold his own clan submissive to our menacing aggression, and thereby to weaken proportionally the independence of his neighbours as well. At the moment, it may be, we do not contemplate any attack on the independence of these local tribes; but the very situation carries in it their doom, and they know it as well as we do. The Allahabad correspondent of the *Times* is no more under illusion than is the editor of the *Pioneer* now, or than were the auditors of Mr. Thorburn's memorable speech at Simla who applauded it (witness Sir James Westland) as a meeting of the Indian National Congress might have done. The representative of the *Times* at Allahabad telegraphs:—

> The success which the Fakir has gained, even if temporary, proves how unsatisfactory is the whole position in that section of the frontier. The safety of the Chitral road is menaced owing to the efforts of a solitary fanatical leader, whose advance with a handful of hillmen involves the hurried despatch of troops from India to reinforce the permanent garrison in the Swat Valley. The Fakir may possibly be driven back without the Indian troops being engaged, but he will still be free to repeat his tactics at any time, causing fresh tribal unrest and anxiety to the Government. *If the policy of garrisoning Chitral is considered irrevocable*, the question will have inevitably to be faced of a military occupation of the country between Chakdara and Dir.

Exactly. It is worth while to mark specially the incidental glimpses of significance in this striking communication. The "whole position" is unsatisfactory: the Fakir's present exploit settles that. It is at the mercy of a "solitary fanatical leader" "with a handful of hillmen;" and this one perverse fellow is in a position to keep the Indian Government in perpetual hot water—"free to repeat his tactics at any time, causing fresh tribal unrest and anxiety to the Government." If the garrisoning of Chitral "is considered irrevocable"—observe the first appearance of this almost treasonable hypothesis in the *Times*. Yes, Colonel Hanna long ago stated the essence of the case in plain terms:

> Though in virtue of our occupation of their territories we exercise a certain control over the doings of the Independent Tribes, we are really less strong in our relations towards them than we were when we had them all in our front, and commanded the mouths of the passes by which they must issue forth, if they wanted to meddle with us; and they are quick-witted enough to be aware that, in returning to our former position, we should forfeit none of our ability to punish them for bad behaviour, and to reward them for good; wise enough to know that they would still be in *our* hands, we no longer in *theirs*.

The Allahabad correspondent of the *Times* at last discovers that "there is a strong and growing opinion now in military circles that the occupation of Malakand, in Lower Swat, in order to support the force dominating Chitral, weakens rather than strengthens the general strategical position on the north-west frontier." Better have wisdom late than never. But any disciple of Lord Lawrence would have pointed out all this at any moment within the past twenty years. These fortified posts are traps for ourselves and permanent centres of irritation to the tribes. Of two things one—absolute retirement within our natural frontier, or occupation in force within the tribal frontier. The latter alternative is not only costly and vexatious, but simply impracticable. And not till this truth is officially recognised shall we have a peaceful frontier.

IRRIGATION IN INDIA.[1]

THOSE who, greatly daring, have ventured to pry into the intricacies of Indian finance must have often wondered at the audacity with which many items were ranged under the head of productive works, though any return from them seemed most unlikely. Especially has this suspicion clung to railways which have often been constructed for military rather than civil purposes, but even some schemes of irrigation have been of doubtful utility when all sides of the question have been taken into account. Both railways and irrigation are in themselves most excellent things. But in India they often involve the borrowing of money in Europe. They thus increase the indebtedness of the country; they perpetuate the drain of wealth from India; they increase the "tribute"; and in so doing they oblige the Indians to force a market by offering their own products more cheaply while paying more dearly for the products of foreign countries. This must not, indeed, be held to decide the question against any scheme of railway extension or irrigation. Very far from it. But it is an element which must be taken into account. It is not enough to show that a particular scheme is advantageous. It must be sufficiently advantageous to justify not merely the outlay, but the further loss occasioned by the additional drain on the country that would be involved, the trade disadvantage which springs from any increase of the Indian tribute. But these considerations have little effect on Indian administrators. So anxious are they to scatter the blessings of civilisation at other people's expense that amid grinding taxation and accumulating debt two rival schools, the railwayites and the irrigationists, have long clamoured for the extension of their pet nostrum regardless of the state of the treasury or the wishes of the people. This has produced a reaction and there is now, perhaps, a disposition in some quarters to condemn all such schemes. It is therefore all the more important to seek for information as to the limitations and conditions under which irrigation may be beneficially employed, and this will be found in the short pamphlet of Professor Wallace.

The author is not only an authority upon his subject, but a most moderate, cautious and impartial advocate. Indeed in one place he carries his modesty to what seems an unwarranted extreme. He says:—

> No case has been made out against the Government for spending,

[1] Lecture and Articles on Irrigation in India, America, Egypt, and Australia. By Robert Wallace, F.L.S., F.C.S., F.R.S. Ed., etc. Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd. 1898.

as it has done, greater sums of money upon railway construction than upon irrigation works.

Now it is hardly fair to assert that no case has been made out without offering any proofs. There are some general reasons for preferring irrigation to railways, though particular circumstances may lead to a contrary choice. Irrigation schemes are less liable to abuse; for railway lines may be made under pretence of opening up trade or diminishing the risks of famine when they are really intended to assist military concentration. Again, irrigation diminishes the effects of famine by increasing the food supply, railways by moving the food from one place to another, so that the result of railways often is to relieve the most acute distress by spreading scarcity over a whole province. Irrigation diminishes the famine area and increases the stock of food in the county. Railways, so far as they are used to convey Indian-grown food to the most afflicted districts, relieve acute distress by making scarcity general throughout the country. This is no doubt a good, but certainly not a good without alloy. There is, however, little in the present state of irrigation in India to confirm the hopes of those who see in it a universal panacea for all the sufferings of the country. Mr. Wallace estimates that not more than about one-seventh of the cultivated area is irrigated in one season. Nevertheless, the promising schemes of irrigation have been nearly all carried out. In fact in the matter of both railways and irrigation a crisis seems now to be approaching. The most important and productive works have been made, and all new schemes are likely to fall very far short of the old both in usefulness and profit. Thus Mr. Wallace tells us:—

> The Government irrigation work of the future lies within the debatable zone which divides successful from unsuccessful undertakings of the kind.

And again:—

> The old maxim that the enterprise should also be a paying speculation must be given up now that the most promising works in this respect have been constructed.

Thus it is more than ever necessary to scrutinise every particular plan and not to allow the success of some of the earlier undertakings to create a prejudice in favour of new proposals.

Nor is this all. Mr. Wallace is nowhere more instructive than in his account of the dangers that may arise from irrigation under unsuitable circumstances.

> Irrigation with all its immense power for good when skilfully conducted can, like a two-edged sword, cut in two opposite directions. It can be productive of an incalculable amount of injury when practiced in ignorance or with indiscretion.

He lays down two indispensable conditions for irrigation by canals:—

> 1st. That there be a sufficient supply of water within command in times of drought, as well as during periods of normal rainfall; and 2nd, that the character of the soil and the geological formation of the district be such that the introduction of water will not convert it into a swamp, or "substitute malaria for famine."

But there are other dangers. In some places, even if irrigation would save a district from famine in a very dry year, it might in other years so water-log the soil as to more than counter-balance this advantage. Again:—

> In a hot country like India, where evaporation from the soil is extremely active if the water-table or underground water supply be allowed to rise too high, efflorescences of soluble alkaline salts, brought up by the ascending current of water required to feed the evaporation, rapidly accumulate on the surface. Soils rendered barren from this cause are known by the name of "Usar" or "Reh" soils in some of the too well irrigated, or, more correctly, badly drained districts of Northern India.

Further, if it is a question of making a scheme pay, it must be remembered that in districts where in ordinary years the rainfall is sufficient, however great may be the facilities afforded by the canals, many of the cultivators will only think it worth while to use them in bad seasons. And lastly, if clear water is supplied, the land may be exhausted thereby in course of time, as Sir J. Caird noticed in the case of the Hardwar Canal, in which clear cold snow water is used.

In Mr. Wallace's brief review of irrigation in Egypt, America, and Australia some useful hints may be found for India. Thus the rising of salts to the surface has been diminished in America by the planting of lucerne, without which it is said the Mormon settlements in Utah, now famous for their fertility, could never have been established. In the famine of 1878 the orange groves of the Eastern Deccan were destroyed, but at the orchards at Riverside in America sub-irrigation is introduced, a pipe in some cases being laid to each tree. Again, when one considers the resemblances between Sind and the Nile Valley, it is not impossible that some lessons might be learned there from the methods used in Egypt.

Irrigation from canals is necessarily the work of the Government, but irrigation from wells is usually left to private enterprise. Mr. Wallace says:—

> Direct pecuniary assistance rendered by Government in the sinking of wells has not proved financially successful, but the supply of boring apparatus and the encouragement of agricultural loans have had a more promising first experience.

Although in Central and Southern India the rocky substratum interferes with well-sinking, while in the greater part of the Punjab the soil water is too far from the surface, yet in spite of the activity of the Government, the area watered by wells throughout India is greater than that supplied by the canals. In the Valley of the Ganges in addition to the visible sacred river there is another flow of waters in the same direction:—

> It occupies the interstices of the porous strata which underlie the bed of the true river, and not being confined to the narrow channel of the river, it stretches for miles to the north and south. It is from this underground source that the numerous wells, which perforate the centre of the plain lying between Benares and Agra, and embracing the greater area of the North-West Provinces, draw their water supply. Towards the east the wells are comparatively shallow, being only ten feet or more in depth, and the water is raised by the Persian wheel and the common lever water lift; but as the sources of the underground flow are approached to the west and north-west the wells have to be sunk deeper, and it is necessary to employ the leathern bag or "mohte" with a tongue or spout, which in the old days used to be made of the tanned skin of an elephant's trunk. Though primitive and ancient—worked usually by two bullocks or buffaloes—it is the least costly and the most effective method of raising water from deep wells under prevailing circumstances.

As to the distribution of canal irrigation, it is least serviceable in the Province of Bombay, while the conditions of usefulness are found most in the Punjab. Under the influence of the famine irrigation has been greatly extended in the North-West Provinces, though previously the irrigated area in Madras exceeded that of any other Province by more than half a million acres. It is in Madras that the famous system of the Godaveri, the Kistna, and the Kaveri rivers are situated, that of the Godaveri alone having made it possible for a decaying population of 560,000 to expand into one of two millions. Thus it appears that irrigation has effected great things; but it must never be forgotten that the most promising and urgent works have been already completed, that reckless irrigation may produce evils as great as those it was intended to cure, and that many parts of the country are out of its reach altogether. The only cure for famine that is of universal application is to make the people prosperous enough to lay by in good years for the season of adversity; but this can never be while India is crushed by taxation to support the most expensive government in the civilised world, and drained by the unceasing tribute. Wild schemes of irrigation which would increase taxation and tribute might well increase the poverty of India, and so foster the calamity they were intended to prevent. Partial alleviations of the situation are excellent things provided they are not mistaken for complete cures. The miseries of India lie deeper, and all the waters of the Ganges will not wash them away.

LIFE IN INDIAN VILLAGES.[1]

MR. PANDIAN'S book is a book to be read by Englishmen. The author may not lay claim to any brilliancy of style, but on the whole his English is unobjectionable. The simplicity and directness of his narrative command our gratitude. Occasional grotesqueness of diction is a small price to pay for perfect immunity from florid orientalisms. But the reader can afford to ignore the form of the writing altogether in Mr. Pandian's case, so interesting is the substance. If there is one quality for which "Indian village folk" is honourably distinguished it is vividness. Mr. Pandian without pretension has given us a singularly vivid presentment of village life in India.

Here are a few pictures of village life. In some of them English readers will recognise traits not unknown to Western civilisation. A peculiarity of the village bazaarman is that he seldom gives a definite reply to a person who wants a certain article if he has not got that article with him. Suppose a village doctor goes to the bazaarman and asks him for an anna's worth of dried ginger; if the article is out of stock, the bazaarman will not admit the fact, but will say, for instance,

[1] "Indian Village Folk." By T. B. Pandian. London: Elliot Stock. 1898.

"I have got fine jaggery." If the doctor insists on dried ginger—"I have got new and good pepper." After the third or fourth time of asking the doctor will grasp the fact that the bazaarman has not got the article he wants in stock. For the bazaarman to say that he has not the article is regarded as a bad omen.

In every Indian village there is a school, or academy, which is known as the *pial* school. These academies are either conducted in the village inn or in a separate building which is erected at the common expense of the villagers. The boys begin school at four or five o'clock in the morning. The teacher himself comes at six, drills the boys in their lessons for about two hours and then dismisses them for their morning meal. School is resumed at nine and continues till noon, and again from two till six in the afternoon. Nor is this all. At home the children are expected to prepare their lessons till eight or nine at night. With such long hours it is not wonderful that these *pial* schools do not produce very striking results in the way of education.

The system has other vices. During this long course of study in school the teacher appoints an elder boy to be a monitor who manages the school in the teacher's absence. Out of the nine hours spent in school, the head teacher spends at most four or five hours with the boys; for the rest of the time they are handed over to the tender mercies of the monitor, who too often beats the children unmercifully and treats them most cruelly. Again the village teacher—who is sometimes the village poet—is sometimes of a colossal ignorance. He does not know whether Windsor Castle is in the North of Africa or in the South of Asia. He does not know that there are such things as the Red Sea or the Baltic. He does not know whether the great Akbar was the son of William the Conqueror or of Alexander the Great. He cannot tell whether Christ was born in Judea, or Abyssinia, or Mexico, or Lapland. These are some of the things he does not know according to Mr. Pandian. But the things he does know, again according to our author, are even more harrowing. He knows that there are several milk oceans, fire oceans, ghee rivers, honey rivers in the world somewhere near the Himalayas.

The punishments meted out to the boys seem very like torture. A boy under punishment is placed in a corner and made to stand on one leg while the other is bent and held in his hand. Another is made to stand for a long time in a stooping position. Another is hung up by the hands, with a sharp knife fixed point upwards in the ground directly underneath him so that he may not rest his feet on the floor. A school in every village sounds well to English ears; but if Mr. Pandian does not exaggerate there is some mistake about the word "school."

With such an early education one must not look for too much wisdom among the villagers, and according to Mr. Pandian Indian shepherds are not models of sagacity. The story is told of a shepherd that dwelt in a village at the foot of the Western Ghats. One day he missed a certain lamb in counting his flock. He immediately started off in search of it. He wandered about till mid-day. At 2 p.m. he came to a well, quite exhausted, to quench his thirst. When he began to look down into the well to find the steps, he saw a man in the well with the very lamb on his neck [his own reflection, if you please!]. Whereupon our shepherd grew very angry. "Oh, robber!" he cried, "I have got you at last; bring up my lamb, or else I will pelt you with stones"; and stooping down to pick up stones with both his hands, he let the lamb fall into the well.

Upon the character of the village *munsif* or subordinate Native magistrate Mr. Pandian has some very unfavourable comments to pass. He says plainly that the corruption and fraud of these officers are not known either to the Government or to their superior officers. A village is too often a hot-bed of trouble, and a place of tyranny and wickedness. The accountant, we are told, is only better than the *munsif* because he has no judicial or magisterial power. Both are robbers, students of one school and birds of the same feather. Indeed they are a great curse to the village. The *munsif* will sell a man for a farthing and kill him for a penny.

Space fails us to tell of the loves of the *dhobi* (washerman), of the multifarious duties of the barber, of the swindlings of the goldsmith, of the curious morals of the well-diggers, of the poets, priests, musicians and all the other active agents in Indian village life, all portrayed in Mr. Pandian's interesting pages. Whatever faults of form an English critic may find, Mr. Pandian's book is a vivid representation of some aspects of the works and ways of Indian village folk.

OUR LONDON LETTER.

(FROM A PARLIAMENTARY CORRESPONDENT.)

I HAVE been asked to say what I can about the visit of the German Emperor to what is called the Holy Land, having followed him through his high-pressure pilgrimage. Strange to say, having returned to England I find that the chief and indeed only question about the trip is—"What was the Emperor's object in going to Palestine?" That is a question which I cannot answer definitely. I can only surmise, and I find that most men suppose that the Emperor was anxious to counteract the influence of France in Syria and Palestine. Somehow or other France has for the last 40 years been considered the protector of the Christians in the East. When the massacres in Damascus took place in 1860 nearly all the great Powers of Europe protested, but it was France which sent 10,000 troops and asserted itself. Nor is this all, for I found that the French language and French money are far more acceptable in those parts than the English. Most men have heard the remark that you may go where you will in the world but you will find that English gold is always taken. I am not prepared to say that this is not as a rule true; but I know that once I came across a place where English gold was refused. Nor was this a mere shanty in a bazaar. It was in a telegraph office in Haifa, a Turkish government establishment. I handed in a message for England and tendered English gold. The official, who talked our language perfectly, said he could not accept that form of payment and must trouble me for French gold. It was a revelation and perhaps a healthy and useful experience for an Englishman.

The German Emperor's trip may be said to have consisted of two parts, the first half very bad and the second half very good. I saw his Majesty land on October 26 at Haifa, on the Syrian coast. I suppose that seldom could the couplet of the hymn which states that "every prospect pleases and only man is vile" be more appropriately quoted than with regard to Haifa. I was in an encampment at the foot of Mount Carmel. In front there lay the deep blue bay of Haifa, while on the opposite shore the forts of Acre shone out in dazzling white. The mountains, the sea, the sky and all the surroundings were lovely—but the town of Haifa was filthy and vile in the extreme. In this Haifa resembles all the towns of that part of the East. If you look at Jaffa from the sea, if you gaze at Jerusalem from the Mount of Olives you will be entranced. But if you leave the bird's-eye view for a closer inspection you will be disgusted. Haifa, Jaffa, and Jerusalem are all evil-smelling abominations not fit to be visited by any decent man. Moreover, I think they were made worse by the fluttering flags and the everlasting bunting, as it is called, which afflicted our eyes all through the tour. Even in the second half of the trip, which was much better in every respect than the first, the tawdry and cheap decoration business made the affair more or less hideous. The first half of the tour may be said to consist of Haifa, Jaffa and Jerusalem, and the intervening country. That expression "intervening country" means much, for nearly 100 horses and mules were killed in forcing the pace along the horrible road constructed by the Sultan for the Kaiser. I rode over that road for two days—the first day a ride of 27 miles, and the next day 44 miles. This may not seem much to a man accustomed to ride in England or India, but before the performance is criticised the critic should have seen the road. It was made of the finest sand, as fine as snuff, about three feet deep. The wretched horses plunged and ploughed along with eyes starting out, nostrils dilated, flanks quivering, and lungs apparently nearly bursting. The sacrifice of horses was enough to sicken any man of decent feeling. But that was by no means the only sickening experience. The smells of Jerusalem are really enough to make one's hair go grey. It is an indescribably filthy city. Somehow or other few writers have told the truth about Jerusalem. They go there half crazy with religious enthusiasm and are prepared to worship and adore all they see. But the fact is that the different sections of the Christians squabble and fight about their holy places and their alleged relics so desperately that the Moslem has to put policemen and sentinels to keep good Christians from cutting each other's throats. This makes, or should make, the soul of the devout Christian sick, while the foul smells already referred to will make him sick in body also.

Fortunately the Emperor visited parts of Syria more wholesome and healthy than Jaffa and Jerusalem. If any reader of mine wants a fine and new experience I suggest that he should try the railway journey from Beyrout to Damascus. The run is only about 96 to 100 miles, but it takes nearly 10 hours to travel, so desperate is the climbing. During that 10 hours there are not 10 minutes during which the scenery is tame or uninteresting. On the contrary the panorama is so superb that the eye

positively aches with admiration. And when Damascus is reached the climax is attained. There is no city so superbly and superlatively fair as Damascus. I was told it was the oldest city in the world. As to that I cannot express a decided opinion, for I have heard the claim advanced on behalf of more than one city in the East. But I am prepared to believe that no other city is so splendidly Oriental and so charming, so bewitching, a city in a word which fulfils the words of the Scriptures in being "the fairest among ten thousand, the altogether lovely." It would be absurd for me to attempt to describe this gem, this pearl among emeralds, as it has been well termed, to those who have not seen it. No written description would do a tenth part of justice to it, nor can any writer make the man who has not seen Damascus realise what it is. On the other hand, if any of my readers have seen it with its fountains and rivers, its trees and roads, bazaars and almost countless mosques, he will feel that my attempts at description are poor indeed. And so more or less with Baalbec. You may read about Baalbec in many a guide-book, but unless you see those mouldering ruins you will never really know what Baalbec is. It is a sense of this helplessness to describe all I have seen which makes the tour seem so poor to the journalist. There are some things beyond the reach even of the special correspondent.

CHRONICLE OF THE WEEK.

THURSDAY, November 24.—Lord Rosebery was the principal speaker at a meeting held in Edinburgh in furtherance of the movement for a national memorial to Mr. Gladstone. He referred to Mr. Gladstone's early connexion with Edinburgh and to the enthusiasm created by his Mid-Lothian campaigns, and dwelt on his matchless individuality, his unequalled oratorical powers, his purity of life, his integrity, and his religious faith. Resolutions in accordance with the object of the meeting were unanimously adopted.

Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman, M.P., addressed a meeting of his constituents at Stirling. He sharply criticised some aspects of the Government's foreign policy, complained of the "swashbuckler tone" adopted by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and said the recent difficulties with France were not due to the French people at large, who had no hostile feeling to this country, nor primarily to the French Government, but to a small but influential knot of French politicians who supported an aggressive colonial policy.

Several of the Paris journals contained comments on the speech of Sir M. Hicks Beach in Edinburgh. The *Débats* and *République Française* regarded the speech as showing signs of a more peaceful temper in this country, while the *Liberté* thought the key of English voices was still pitched high.—It was definitely announced that Colonel Picquart would be sent before a Court-martial on December 12. The French Government authorised Mme. Dreyfus to telegraph direct to her husband.

From Athens it was stated that the question of the Cretan flag had been decided by the Powers in favour of the Sultan. The Crescent would still float over the battlements of Canea and Candia, though the Ottoman suzerainty would not be represented by a single official or soldier.

Details were received of severe fighting in the *Hinterland* of Benin between the Royal Niger Company's expeditionary force and the "rebellious" tribes. Two towns had been captured and burned, with heavy loss to the natives, but others were still defiant and human sacrifices were said to be frequent.

FRIDAY, November 25.—Lord Rosebery delivered his inaugural address as president of the Edinburgh Philosophical Institution, to which office he was elected on the death of Mr. Gladstone. He took for his subject "Literary Statesmen," and delivered an interesting discourse on those English statesmen who had combined political activity with a love of books.

Lord Curzon of Kedleston was presented at Derby with an address of congratulation from people of Derbyshire—his native county—on his appointment to the Viceroyalty of India, and, in acknowledging it, observed that the two qualities which appeared to him to be most essential for the adequate discharge of the duties of the high post to which he had been called were courage and sympathy.

A supplement to the *London Gazette* contained an Order in Council embodying the new Constitution for Rhodesia.

SATURDAY, November 26.—In Athens to-day the representatives of the four Powers formally notified the King of Greece and afterwards Prince George, of the appointment of the latter to be their High Commissioner in Crete, with a temporary mandate for a term of three years. It was stipulated that the High Commissioner should recognise the Sultan's suzerainty and protect the Turkish flag, which would float over one fortified place in the island; that he should, in accord with the National Assembly, establish an autonomous system of administration, giving security to life, property, and the free exercise of religion, and organise a *gendarmerie*. Each of the four Powers would undertake to provide a sum of a million francs, to be afterwards repaid by a loan raised on the security of the Cretan revenue. The King and Prince George accepted the mandate of the Powers under the conditions laid down.

The excitement following on the decision to send Colonel Picquart before a Court-martial was said to have become intense in Paris. Interpellations were announced for Monday, in the Chamber, and protests against the prosecution were being signed by thousands of persons. The newspaper polemic on the subject became more bitter than ever.—It was asserted by Colonel Picquart's friends that Colonel Schwarzkoppen was prepared to give evidence that he wrote the document known as the *petit bleu*, which Colonel Picquart was to be accused of forging.

The German Emperor and Empress arrived at Potsdam on their return from their visit to the East.

MONDAY, November 28.—A Cabinet Council was held yesterday at the Foreign Office.

It was announced that the Carlton Club had offered to return to the Official Receiver in Bankruptcy the £10,000 which the Conservative Party Fund received "as the result of the election of Mr. Hooley" to the membership of the club.

Speaking at the annual meeting of the "London Municipal Society," Lord George Hamilton ascribed the defeat of the party at the last County Council election in part to the slackened zeal among their supporters, and also to the prevalence of a mistaken idea that they wished to do away with the County Council altogether. The Government intended to introduce their Bill for the creation of London municipalities early next Session.

Speaking at the annual conference of the National Union of Conservative Associations, Mr. R. W. E. Middleton, the principal agent of the party, dwelt on the importance and increasing magnitude of the work of attending to registration, which, he thought, might fairly be placed on public officials. In that event he hoped they might see some of the absurd anomalies of the present registration laws removed. Sir W. Walrond, M.P., endorsed what Mr. Middleton said.

TUESDAY, November 29.—In the French Senate, M. Monis raised the question of the Picquart prosecution. He urged that the Court of Cassation was now the sole judge of the Dreyfus case, and that a conflict of jurisdiction would arise if military justice were allowed to rake up a matter dating from two years ago in order, apparently, to prejudice the case. M. Dupuy in reply recapitulated his statement of Monday in the Chamber and repudiated any idea of shirking his responsibilities and throwing them on the Court of Cassation. He had not dictated to that Court, but had stated that its powers were unlimited, and that if it claimed documents it would nowhere encounter obstruction.—It was expected that the Court of Cassation would apply for the Picquart *dossier*, which would involve a postponement of the Court-martial.—Colonel Picquart continued his deposition before the Court of Cassation.

The newspapers printed a letter from Lord Kitchener of Khartum, urging the expediency of making Khartum forthwith the centre of an education supported by British funds and organised from Britain as a means of securing to this country the first place in Africa as a civilising Power. He accordingly proposed the establishment at Khartum of a Gordon Memorial College. The principal teachers would be British, and the supervision would be vested in the Governor-General of the Sudan. The fund required for the establishment of the college Lord Kitchener estimated at £100,000, of which £10,000 would be required for the initial outlay, and the remainder invested for the maintenance of the institution.

Mr. Balfour, speaking at Bristol, cordially recognised the "patriotism and wisdom" with which the leaders of the Opposition had recently thrown themselves into rank with the Government, and presented an absolutely united national front in the face of a serious national crisis. That he believed was what would always happen when the national honour or interests were at stake. The present was a time of international unrest, but a happy augury for the preservation of peace might be drawn from the recent success of European diplomacy in Crete.

It was announced that Sir P. Currie, Sir Godfrey Lushington, and Sir Howard Vincent, M.P., had been appointed the British delegates to the "anti-anarchist" conference.

WEDNESDAY, November 30.—It was announced that the Admirals had selected the island of Suda as the post where the Turkish flag should continue to be displayed in Crete.

Sir M. Hicks Beach, speaking at Bristol, replied to the charge recently brought against him by Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman of having spoken in a "swashbuckler" tone, because he had said that an open door should be maintained for our trade in China even at the risk of war, and when alluding to the Fashoda incident had remarked that there were worse things than war. He denied that there was any provocation to foreign Powers in either of those statements, and held that they expressed the

feeling of the nation and the policy of the Government, and that peace was most likely to be maintained if plain language was used in good time.

It was stated that the Government had decided that a free grant would be made to the West India islands which suffered in the recent hurricane for the restoration of certain classes of damaged property, while the case of others would be met by a loan.

THE VICEROY-DESIGNATE AT DERBY.

"COURAGE AND SYMPATHY."

Lord Curzon of Kedleston was presented in the Drill Hall, Derby, on Friday last (November 25), with a congratulatory address on his appointment to the Viceroyalty of India, the testimonial being the outcome of a public subscription got up amongst the people of Derbyshire, of which the noble lord is a native.

The address referred to Lord Curzon's new office, and proceeded: "We are not unmindful of the weight of the responsibility which attaches to that high dignity, nor to the statesmanlike qualifications required for its due discharge. These qualifications we believe you to possess in an eminent degree, for we have watched with much interest your devotion to the public service in Parliament, and in the offices you have already held under the Crown. We also admired the public spirit which led you to undertake laborious journeys in order to acquaint yourself with the conditions and requirements of distant and important countries within the sphere of British influence. Whilst offering our congratulations we desire to express our confidence that you will represent her Majesty with dignity, firmness, and wisdom in the administration of that portion of the Empire which you have been called upon to govern. We are assured that the true welfare of the millions comprising its population will be your supreme aim and desire, and that the high mission which Providence has entrusted to the British nation will, in your hands, be exercised in accord with those principles which contribute to the greatness of the Empire, and alone can secure the well-being of the people."

Lord CURZON, who on rising to acknowledge the presentation was loudly cheered, said it was true, as Mr. Bowring had just said, that they met under the shadow of a double disappointment arising from the fickleness of the malignant month of November. The first disappointment was the absence of his wife. He deeply regretted to say that he left her confined to her bedroom by an acute inflammation of the face, and quite unable in consequence of the orders of her doctor to leave the room. Her absence, to his mind, took away a large part of the joy of those proceedings; but any disappointment his audience might feel could not, he was sure, compare with the disappointment which was experienced both by her and by himself. He accepted on her behalf, and would transmit to her, the fan which had been handed to him. That would remind her of the great welcome which she and he received in that town when, nearly four years ago, they commenced that experiment which had since been so successful. (Laughter and cheers.) It would remind her that the place which she then won in the hearts of the Derby crowd, although she had not been there much in the interim, had not been lost, and it would tell her that just as when she first came to this country of her adoption she was received by open hearts and pleasant smiles, now that she was going forth to another country at the call of duty, she equally carried away with her the good feelings and hopes of those who lived in her husband's county. (Cheers.) The second disappointment from which they were suffering was the absence of their dear old friend, Sir Henry Wilmot. There would, indeed, have been something peculiarly appropriate and pleasant in his presence in the chair that afternoon, and in his (Lord Curzon's) receipt at Sir Henry's hands of that beautiful address. It was under the auspices of Sir Henry Wilmot that in that very hall a little more than 17 years ago—very likely from that very platform—that he (Lord Curzon) made his first political speech—(cheers)—to a great public gathering. Well did he remember that occasion. There was Sir Henry Wilmot, always genial and happy, in the chair; there was Lord Carnarvon as the principal speaker of the evening, and later in the evening there was a timid youth—(laughter)—of the age of twenty-two—(laughter)—who rose to address his first political meeting. Well he remembered that there was a man at the end of the hall there who, when that youth began to speak, cried out: "Sit down, sir"—(much laughter)—an invitation which neither then, nor at any subsequent period, had he shown any disposition to accept. (Laughter and cheers.) Sir Henry Wilmot and he had shared many happy experiences together in the times in which he (Lord Curzon) was trying to persuade that constituency of his extreme suitability to represent it in Parliament, and when that constituency, by an overwhelming majority of over 2,000 votes, expressed its total disagreement with that proposition. (Laughter.) Therefore he said it would have been a very pleasant and agreeable thing for him that afternoon to have received that address from one whom he might call the Nestor of politics in South Derbyshire, who was for so long his own political monitor and foster-father, and who, for the best part of a lifetime, had been one of his (Lord Curzon's) father's intimate friends. (Cheers.) However, he ventured to think that neither one disappointment nor the other, even though they might somewhat have damped them, had succeeded in destroying the ardour of those proceedings, and it was with great pleasure that he had received this address from Mr. Gretton, who was now in secure and, he believed, permanent enjoyment of the seat which he (Lord Curzon) once unsuccessfully tried to capture. He could not fail to be very profoundly touched and affected by the demonstration in the hall. There was something very peculiar and personal in the feelings shown towards a man in the critical emergencies of life by those amongst whom he was born, and amongst whom, to a certain extent, he had lived. In that local patriotism of which he was speaking, and which was after all only the reflex and microcosm of that larger and Imperial patriotism which had built up the Empire, he thought the Englishman particularly showed it was that feeling which tempted a town or city to set up in its midst statues or memorials of the remarkable men who might have sprung from that locality, and it was to the same feeling that we owed the desire of men who had been successful in life to commemorate their success by some building, some library, museum, gallery, or institute in the locality from which they were derived. Just as water had a natural tendency to rise to the source from which it sprang, and just as the mythological Antæus derived fresh strength from contact with the soil of his birth, so did any man placed in such a position as he (Lord Curzon) now occupied, and so did he upon the present occasion, turn for reinvigoration, for encouragement, for hope to the people whom he had known so long, and who knew him so well. (Loud cheers.) They were all of them in that room proud of being Derbyshire men and Derbyshire women—(cheers)—but he hoped he showed no conceit in saying that it was impossible to imagine anything more Derbyshire than the Curzon family. (Cheers.) For 800 years that county had not shaken them off. (Laughter and cheers.) They might, he thought, almost claim to be regarded as ancient and historic monuments free from the succession duty of Sir William Harcourt—(laughter)—and entitled to the special protection and support of the State. It was true that, owing to the exigencies of his life, he had not himself been much of a monument, still less of an ancient monument, in that part of the county—that perhaps was to some extent the fault of the county—(laughter)—but his father had passed in and out amongst them, and had lived an honoured life in their midst—(cheers)—for the best part of fifty years, and he knew very well that they included the father in the congratulations which they had bestowed on the son. (Cheers.) There was one other aspect of that gathering and presentation which had been a source of great pleasure to him, and that was that it had been in the main divorced from party politics, or, indeed, from any political association. He confessed that when he was appointed he had little right to expect the generous wealth of indulgence with which his appointment was greeted. Owing to the fact that he had recently occupied a rather prominent position in political controversy; that he had been a target into whom a good many arrows had been shot; and that he had also himself, perhaps, fired a certain number of arrows into the targets of others, it would not have been surprising if his appointment had been very severely criticised in the Opposition Press. The fact that it was not so was not due, he was well aware, to any conviction that he was a fit man for the post, but was due to the feeling of the country that any man going forth to take up that burden was entitled to its unanimous suffrages and support. On the glaring and well-nigh solitary eminence upon which the Viceroy of India stood, it would be his duty for five years to represent his Sovereign and his country, to carry on the traditions of a long line of illustrious predecessors, and to convey to the minds of the countless millions subject to his rule and conviction that justice and beneficence were embodied in his example and were reflected to his rule. (Cheers.) If he were asked what were the two qualities which appeared to him to be most essential for the adequate discharge of those duties, he would reply, "Courage and sympathy"—(cheers)—courage to grapple with the many problems that arose in Indian government, problems that bewildered by their complexity even more than they overwhelmed by their dimensions; sympathy with the Moslem, the Sikh, the Parsee, the Hindu—sympathy with every race and class, and creed, from the Native Prince who occupied a throne that was secured to him by his loyalty to the Sovereign power to the humble peasant who drove his furrow through the soil in mute reliance on that remote, overmastering power of the existence of which he was but dimly conscious, but which was to him a security of his industry, his property, and his life. (Cheers.) He had been speaking of the qualities required. He did not claim to possess them. He might be incapable of acquiring them, but surely it was better to have ideals and to fail to meet them, than not to have any ideals at all. (Cheers.) In one respect he felt that, although his wife and he were going to be separated for many years from Derbyshire associations, and from all the connexions of the county, of home and friends, yet something of Derbyshire they would carry with them, or something of Derbyshire, at any rate, they would find when they landed at Calcutta. They would have read in the papers that Government House, Calcutta, was built by Lord Wellesley upon the model, or upon the ground plan, of the old home of his (Lord Curzon's) family at Kedleston. (Cheers.) It was strange by what small events and by what petty coincidences the current of life was shaped and turned; for it was certainly true that it was the fact of that remembrance that first turned his thoughts to the question of the government of India. And when he left the doors of Government House in Calcutta on the first and only occasion on which he visited it, in 1887, it made him feel that some day, if fate were propitious, and he were held deserving of the task, he would like to exchange Kedleston in England for Kedleston in India. Now that that had come to him he felt it a great help to know that he carried with him to his new home in that country the good wishes and feelings of those who had known him in his old home here. It would be some time before his wife or he would be among them again; but while away no higher ambition, at any rate, should actuate himself than the desire that, if he could not do anything to add to the glory, at least he would do nothing to detract from the credit of his native county. (Prolonged cheering.)

MR. DADABHAI NAOROJI IN LANCASHIRE.

MEETING AT CHORLEY.

We take the following report from the *Chorley Guardian and Leyland Hundred Advertiser*:—

On Wednesday evening (November 16) a public meeting promoted jointly by the Chorley and District Liberal Federation and the Chorley branch of the Women's Liberal Association was held in the assembly-room of the Town Hall, when there was a good attendance.

Alderman J. Lawrence, J.P., president of the Chorley Reform Club, presided. He was supported on the platform by Mrs. Crompton, who is president of the Chorley Women's Liberal Association; Mrs. Stewart Brown, of Liverpool; Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, of London (formerly M.P. for Central Finsbury); Mr. A. J. Viner, of Oldham; Mr. W. C. Wood, J.P., Brinscall; Mr. J. Kirkman, J.P.; Councillor Cook, the Rev. G. Wood, Bretherton; and many members of the respective associations under whose auspices the meeting was convened.

Alderman Lawrence introduced Mr. Naoroji. He said that Mr. Naoroji formerly represented the Central Finsbury Division, but at the last election was defeated by such a small majority that it might be regarded as a moral victory. (Applause.) The feelings of Lancashire people were very strongly in favour of the Indian people, whom they regarded as their cousins. That was demonstrated in the case of the Indian famine not long ago. (Applause.) He had the honour of almost initiating the movement in Chorley by means of which a large sum of money was contributed to the fund for the relief of the sufferers by that famine, the sum being larger, he believed, than that sent by any other town of its size in the country. (Applause.)

Mr. Naoroji, who was heartily received, said he thanked the people of Chorley for the sympathy extended towards, and the contributions they sent for, his countrymen in their distress. He came before them on a question of business, and if there was any part of England which had greater interest than another in India it was Lancashire. He wished to clear their minds of the rubbish which the Anglo-Indians, in their own selfish interest, had put into the heads of the people of this country with regard to India. His firm had been in business in Lancashire for over 25 years, and therefore he hoped he might claim to know something of Lancashire and the ideas of the people, and he wished to tell them what was their duty towards India. English people claimed to be honourable above everything, and he therefore wished to ask them whether they were treating India with honour and justice. As far back as 1833 a number of emancipation laws were passed in this country. The Roman Catholics and Jews were emancipated, and a law was passed that enabled him to stand up recently and ask for the votes of Finsbury to send him to the House of Commons. (Applause.) In the year in question the statesmen of the day reconsidered the whole problem of Indian policy. Mr. Macaulay said at the time that the future of India was unknown, but that the Indian people, when they understood what true citizenship was, would claim their rights as citizens, and that if the people were lifted up from degradation to a higher civilisation the glory would be their own. The statesmen decided that the administration of India should be according to merit and not according to colour and creed, and the Indian people wanted no more than this. They wanted neither fear nor favour, and if that policy had been followed India would have been in a far different condition to that in which it was found to-day. They would not have had those disastrous famines which periodically occurred, and the millions of lives lost in connexion with these would not have been sacrificed. Twenty years after 1833 passed away, and the policy of treating Indian people with justice remained a dead letter. At this time the date for the renewal of the East India Company's charter arrived, and there was a struggle made on that occasion on behalf of the rights of the people of India by many persons, amongst whom was Mr. John Bright. (Applause.) He complained that the Act of 1833 was persistently ignored, but his voice was like one crying in the wilderness. He did what he could, but he did not succeed. He told the people there were only two ways in which the British could get good out of India for themselves; and one of these ways was by plunder and the other by trade, but that he preferred the trade. Then came the Mutiny, and this only affected the army, and a portion of that, and was all the result of bad administration and the unjust treatment of the princes of India. The Mutiny was suppressed, and again it was given out that every subject of India should be treated exactly like every other English subject. But this was not carried out. The same policy had twice since been announced, once at the commencement of the Imperial title and the second time on the occasion of the Queen's Jubilee. It had been represented that the British Government was the best government on the face of the earth, but few appeared to have realised the misery that rule was causing in India. The fundamental principle of the government of India had been described by Lord Salisbury, as one of the Secretaries of State, when he said the country must be bled. The men who had governed it had been guilty of political hypocrisy, and Lord Lytton himself, when Viceroy, had stated that they had deceived the Indian people and resorted to the most deliberate subterfuges. He (the speaker) contended that the Government had made promises to the ear and broken them to the hope. In 1860 a committee of five members of the Council of the India Office considered the Act of 1833, and suggested a remedy, and that was that a portion of the services in India should be given to Indians and another to the English, and further that there should be fair competition for the offices, the examinations to be held simultaneously in India and England. They decided in favour of the competitions, but in 1866, as the report did not please the India Office, it disappeared. In 1876, when the matter was again brought forward, the India Office could not produce a copy of the report. Sir Erskine Perry took the matter up and compelled the Government to make the rules required by the Statute of 1833, but the Indian Government did it with the worst grace possible. Here was some little instalment of justice given to the Indian people, but it had been entirely swept away from them since. In 1892 he (the speaker) succeeded in defeating the Government upon the question, and it was decided that the rules suggested by the Committee of the India Office should be carried out. The Indian Government had, however, said they would do nothing of the kind. What was the use of passing resolutions in the House of Commons if they were not acted upon? The Government of India had continued to act on the most un-English and the most wicked principles. The result was that India was reduced to the utmost poverty and was the poorest country in the world. He was sure the Lancashire people would not approve of the policy of bleeding when they realised this fact, and he would appeal to them to consider it from a selfish point of view, and as regards the question of trade. The value of the whole produce of the people was not more than twenty rupees per head per annum, and what could be expected from people like that as regards trade? There were 300 million people in the country, all subject to England, and there was perfect free trade in the country. In the colonies and on the continent of Europe, British trade was shut out by protective laws, but in India there was an "open door" for trade, and yet all the exports from England that went into India did not amount in value to more 1s. or 1s. 6d. per head of the population. The people of India were civilised when the natives in England were in the forests without clothing, India at that time knew arts of civilisation, and had a literature that England, with all the advances she has made, had not been able to equal in many respects. (Applause.) The Australian colonists took £7 per head of British exports, and the countries on the European continent, including Turkey, as well as the United States and Africa, exports in value ranging from 15s. to 40s. per head of the inhabitants were received. Let them consider what might be done as regards Indian trade if only that country was better governed and its produce increased. There were 300 millions of people in India, and supposing their exports were increased to 20s. per head, instead of 1s. or 1s. 6d., it would show a British trade of 300 millions per annum instead of the 30 millions it was now. He submitted that this might be realised if the policy of selfishness and plunder were done away with, and the Act of 1833 was carried out in its entirety, and the results would be a benefit and blessing to the inhabitants of both countries. (Applause.)

Mr. W. C. Wood proposed a vote of thanks to the speakers, and this was seconded by Mr. Kellet Ashton, who said Mr. Naoroji's title was "Lord Salisbury's black man"—(laughter and applause)—and he believed that under the circumstances in which he received it, no title could be more honourable. The motion was carried by acclamation.

Mr. Naoroji in response alluded to the war beyond the Indian frontier and said that although it was in the interests of both England and India that Russia should be kept out of India, the whole cost of the war, as laid down by the Indian Government, had to be borne by India although the people were so poor, and England was not to pay any share. This was an apt illustration of the principle and theory acted upon by the un-British section of the British people. (Applause.)

MR. DADABHAI NAOROJI AND MR. ROMESH DUTT, C.I.E., AT MANCHESTER.

A public meeting was held on November 22, in the Friends' Meeting-house, Manchester, under the auspices of the Manchester Society for the protection of Native Races, a Society which has recently been established. There was a large attendance. The Bishop of Hereford presided, and there were also on the platform the Right Hon. Leonard Courtney, M.P., Mrs. Courtney, Mr. C. P. Scott, M.P., Mrs. Scott, Archdeacon Wilson, Mr. W. P. Byles (Bradford), the Rev. J. S. Moffat (Bechuanaland), Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, Mr. Romesh C. Dutt, C.I.E., and others.

The Chairman and Mr. Courtney having spoken,

The Rev. J. S. Moffat moved: "That this meeting welcomes the formation of the Manchester and District Society for the Protection of Native Races, and pledges itself to do everything in its power to further the objects of the Society."

Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, in seconding the resolution, spoke of the treatment to which British Indian subjects who had gone to South Africa were subjected, observing that although they had assisted to raise the land to its present productive position, they were now dealt with, like other native races, in a most unjust and cruel manner. Passing to India, he said the general impression was that there British rule had been a great blessing to the country economically. This, however, was not the case. The system was a vicious and a wrong one in itself, and was carried on in a manner which did not reflect credit upon the British name. He appealed to the men who abolished the slave trade, the so-called faddists and fanatics, the philanthropists who raised England to that state of civilisation and advancement of which she was proud, to look into the condition of things in India. He could only say in the words of Lord Lawrence that the mass of the people lived on a scanty subsistence; in the words of Lord Cromer, that they were the poorest people on the face of the earth; and in the words of John Bright, that there was something fundamentally wrong in the system of Government under which the Indian administration was carried on. (Applause.) This fundamental error the English people were bound to find out. They were responsible not merely to a few millions of native races, but to three hundred millions of civilised people whose civilisation was a thousand years old when they were roaming about without clothes. (Laughter.) They called these men now their fellow-subjects. Let them prove their words, instead of being satisfied with the words. The romance was that these men were very happy; the reality was that they were the most miserable people on the face of the earth. (Applause.)

Mr. C. P. Scott, M.P., proposed a vote of thanks to Mr. Courtney for his address and to the Bishop of Hereford for presiding. In the course of his speech he said that there was that other enormous question to which Mr. Naoroji had referred of the development of what might be called the great ancient arrested civilisations of the world. It was true that the Indian people were civilised whilst the English were running about the woods in a state of nakedness. But it was also true that there had taken place in these Western lands a development of knowledge and power of which there was no parallel in the East, and the great problem which we had confronting us was how we might enable these people, who were our wards, to develop their lives and polity in the best way for themselves. He was not content merely to mitigate what might be regarded as the incidental

evils of the exercise of our dominion, but he thought that a positive duty was laid upon us, wherever we went, to endeavour to the utmost of our power to promote the welfare of those who were committed to our charge. (Applause.) He trusted that the result of that meeting would be to stir up some interest in this great question in Manchester, and that that might be only the first of many societies of the kind which would spring up all over the kingdom. (Applause.)

Mr. Romesh C. Dutt, C.I.E., who seconded the resolution, said that they had listened with pleasure and instruction to the eloquent speeches which had explained and insisted on the duty of Englishmen to deal with native races in all parts of the British Empire with justice and equity. For himself, coming from India, he could say that he had listened to them with gratitude. Such eloquent advocacy of just and fair dealing was needful and beneficial; but there never was a time perhaps in the present generation when it was so needful as at the present day. In India it would almost seem as if we were going backwards from the path of progress which we had trod so long, and that the rights and privileges accorded to the people were about to be withdrawn. The Empire of India was built up by the co-operation of the people—by Indian soldiers who had fought side by side with English soldiers, and by the help of races and nations who had rallied round the only power which could give the people peace and security and civilised government. But lately they had passed through evil times; the famine of the last year was the sixth great famine which had marked the Queen's reign in India; and these six famines were estimated to have carried off ten or twelve millions of their Indian fellow-subjects. These famines had been, if not created, at least greatly intensified in their effects by the defective land administration and the severe assessment of the soil; and they could not be prevented in the future unless the administration was carried on with the co-operation and under the control of the people themselves. (Applause.) That was the secret of good administration in India; we could not administer the concerns of 300 millions of people without the advice and help and co-operation of the people themselves. (Applause.) It was not the officers who went out to India who were to blame; he had himself had the honour to belong to the great Civil Service of India for 26 years of his life, and he would say this: take the Indian Civil Servants with all their faults, they were as fine a body of administrators as they sent out to any part of the world. It was not the men, it was the system which was to blame—(applause)—and unless the people were allowed some voice and some hand in the control and administration of their own concerns, that administration, however well-intentioned and however ably conducted, could never be an entire success. The same remarks applied to the plague operations; they were the cause of untold suffering and irritation until the Government decided to accept the co-operation of the people themselves. He would give them one more illustration of the manner in which popular administration had succeeded in India, and how, nevertheless, the present Government seemed bent upon withdrawing popular rights and privileges, and reverting to methods of despotism and distrust in the people. Twenty-two years ago, when India was under the administration of one of the best Viceroys that they had ever sent out to India, he meant Lord Northbrook, the ratepayers of Calcutta were allowed the right of electing two-thirds of their Municipal Commissioners, the remaining third being appointed by the Government. We in this country should not consider it a great concession to the metropolis of India to allow it to elect two-thirds of their Municipal Commissioners; but they in India were thankful for small mercies, and during the last twenty-two years they had cherished this as one of the most valued rights they had secured under British rule in India. How the elected Commissioners had done their municipal work was a matter of history, they had cleansed the city, improved the drainage and extended the water supply, and in the words of Sir Antony MacDonnell, one of the most successful administrators of India, they had worked with a zeal which rose to the level of devotion. Calcutta was not an ideally sanitary town yet, but Calcutta was nevertheless one of the healthiest places now in Bengal, the value of land had been doubled, and thousands of people came to the city annually from the surrounding country to improve their health. More than this, when a few cases of plague were recently imported into Calcutta from Bombay they were promptly stamped out, partly through the superior sanitary arrangements of Calcutta, and partly through the zealous and devoted exertions of the elected Commissioners of the city. (Applause.) They would think that after this good work of twenty-two years, after saving the town from the horrors of a plague, the ratepayers of Calcutta had deserved some extension of their rights and privileges, some broadening of the scheme of self-government in the city. But would they believe it, at the present moment there was a Bill before the Bengal Council proposing to withdraw from the Municipal Commissioners of Calcutta those executive powers which they had enjoyed during the last twenty-two years? It was a wanton measure of insult and injustice to the people of Calcutta, and it was felt as a confiscation of the people's rights. He had had enough experience of Indian administration to know what the result of the change would be; they could not administer the concerns of 860,000 people, which was the population of Calcutta, without the co-operation of the people themselves; and the good work which had been done in the past in the metropolis of India would be ruined. He appealed to them on behalf of his countrymen to preserve to them those rights and privileges which benevolent English administrators had given, and not to ruin Indian administration by rejecting the willing and zealous co-operation of the people themselves. (Applause.)

The resolution, having been carried, was acknowledged by Mr. Courtney, who said that when we contemplated with satisfaction the good work we were doing it was well to remember that a nation, like an individual, was a bad judge in its own cause. (Hear, hear.)

The Queen has been pleased to approve the appointment of Mr. Justice Strachey, of the Bombay High Court, to be Chief Justice of Judicature at Allahabad, in succession to Sir Louis Kershaw, who has been appointed Chief Justice at Bombay.

MR. ROMESH DUTT, C.I.E., AT DEPTFORD.

[From a Correspondent.]

An interesting meeting was held in the People's Hall, Deptford, on Tuesday last, Nov. 29, under the auspices of the Women's Liberal Association.

Mr. Romesh Dutt, who was the principal speaker, began his lecture by referring to the time, now 12 years ago, when the Liberals of Deptford gave an enthusiastic support to his countryman, Mr. Lal Mohan Ghose, who stood for election in 1886. Mr. Dutt then briefly reviewed the events of these 12 years in India, showing how successive Viceroys had drifted from the wise and beneficent policy of Lord Ripon, who gave India peace with her neighbours and contentment and self-government to the people. Mr. Dutt condemned the frontier war, the new Sedition Acts, the Press prosecutions, the imprisonment without trial of the Natu brothers, and closed with a severe condemnation of the Bill now before the Bengal Council intended virtually to abolish municipal self-government in Calcutta. This Bill, he said, would if passed create a degree of discontent which would be a source of political danger in India. The strongest basis of British rule in India was not the army but the contentment and loyalty of the people, which could be secured by liberal and progressive government, not by repressive and retrograde measures. He moved the following resolution: "That this meeting condemns the mischievous frontier policy of the Indian Government which has led to needless wars and loss of life; and also condemns the repressive measures and retrograde policy of internal administration which is unjust and unfair to the people of India, and likely to weaken the foundations of British rule in the Indian Empire."

The resolution was seconded by the Rev. Mr. Parker, who remarked that the repressive measures lately passed were not creditable to British rule, and could not be allowed to be lasting; and that the people of India might entertain the hope that the repressive policy of the present would be upset in the future.

The resolution was put to the meeting and carried unanimously.

A vote of thanks to the speakers and to the chair was proposed and carried.

Mr. Dutt, responding, gave some further information about railways, irrigation canals and wells, bad drainage and malarial fevers in Bengal, and other facts about the present condition of India which deeply interested the audience. The speaker was repeatedly cheered.

MR. BIPIN CHANDRA PAL ON INDIAN ADMINISTRATION.—II.

The following further letter to the Editor (in continuation of the letter reproduced in India last week) appeared in the *Manchester Guardian* of November 24:—

Sir,—Thanking you very much for your kind acceptance of my previous letter, I proceed in this to consider the causes of the present unrest in India. In the first place the extreme poverty of the people has something to do with it. The repeated legislative enactments for the relief of the agricultural classes in different parts of the country and the periodical famines bear eloquent testimony to this poverty. I have seen people in the Punjab living on two pieces of bread a day. I have known others on the Madras side whose only food from year's end to year's end consists of the flour of millet cooked into a paste with tamarind and red pepper to make it eatable. And yet Nature deals out her bounties in no stinted measure in India. Our fields are green with vegetables, our trees are laden with fruits. Our people, though they may not work as hard as the English labourer, work as much as the climate of the country would permit, and they have none of those vices, generally speaking, that eat so many big holes into the English labourer's pocket. But still they are extremely poor, so poor indeed that some cannot find even two meals a day, while large numbers cannot add even a slice of carrot or a bit of brinjal, not to mention fish and meat, to their daily fare of coarse bread. Such grinding poverty would be sure to breed discontent even among the angels, one should think; but still the Indian poor suffer all this in pious silence. The London poor made a raid some time ago on the water companies because of the scarcity of water in their district; but within the last five or six years we have had regular water famines in many parts of Bengal, whole villages in some places living literally on liquid mud such as even the English cattle would not condescend to touch, while in other places the women had to walk for miles in the summer sun to fetch a pot of water for their families. But nobody heard of any raid or riot caused by all this intense suffering. "It is the pleasure of Allah," says the Mahometan. "It is the fruit of my own action in a previous birth—my own Karma," says the Hindu; and they quietly submit to the inevitable. But because they do not cry out it is a mistake to think that they do not feel, or that their misery is not so great. "They have the same composition as ourselves," said Lord Curzon, and they must necessarily feel as Englishmen would do under the same circumstances. The cumulative effect of all this stored-up pain and privation comes out the moment any tangible cause of offence is found in any particular policy or action of the Government. The frequent religious riots draw most of their secret strength from this patiently borne poverty. The poorest provinces have been the scene of the largest number of these riots. Bengal, where owing to the

permanent settlement of the Government land revenue demand the people are comparatively better off, had the smallest number of them. The truth about most of these riots is that religion finds only the occasion for them, but is not their real cause. Poverty as I have said is one of the causes; the unkind treatment of the people by the European residents of the country is another.

It pains me very much to have to say this, but the truth must be told in the interest as much of England as of India. The way in which European residents in India treat their domestic servants is known to have shocked many Englishmen when they first went to that country. I was travelling in the same railway carriage the other day when coming from Calcutta with an English clergyman, the bishop of one of our provinces, who frankly told me that one of the first impressions that he remembered of his early days in India was the feeling of having been scandalised by the way in which European Christians behaved to their Indian domestics. Mrs. Steel, in the current Christmas number of *Black and White*, also bears testimony to this in a little story called "The Noose of Kali," in which an English boy always addresses his Indian servants as "son of an owl," "baseborn," "baseborn son of pigs," etc., showing the usual mode of addressing Indian domestics in Anglo-Indian homes. The domestics bear all this insult (and Englishmen have no idea how offensive terms like "son of a pig" are to Mahometans) and abuse, as also the not very rare physical chastisement that they receive from their masters, with patience; and they submit to these in consideration of the pay they receive and the frequent opportunities that they create of robbing their masters. But though silver may buy silence and the fear of privation compel submission to wanton insults and injuries, they can never root out the ill-feeling caused by them, which always finds furious expression whenever there is any outburst of lawlessness in any place. This is the real reason why in almost all the recent riots the fury of the mob has been exclusively directed against the Europeans. The relations between the Anglo-Indians and their domestic servants have a real political significance in India which has not, I am afraid, been as yet properly realised. In every country the servants have a large hand in the making of public opinion among lower-class people regarding the character of their masters. In India, owing to the social isolation of the Europeans, this is peculiarly so. The domestic servants form the link, as it were, between the rulers and the masses of the ruled. Their opinion of their masters permeates the lower stratum of society and helps the formation of all mob-opinion regarding them. And from the way they are treated, the accidents that befall them in the shape of ruptured spleen or failure of the heart, owing to the rashness of their masters and other painful experiences, it is not to be expected that the servants generally would give a good certificate to their masters. Thus the almost utter disregard of the feelings and sentiments of their domestics shown thoughtlessly by large numbers of Anglo-Indian masters has generated a deep distrust towards the Government in the minds of the masses. Every Englishman in India, in the estimation of the ignorant people, is the Government. So the indiscretions of individuals affect the position of the State most seriously. Every case of outrage—and there is nothing strange that such cases should occur where there are so many men away from their homes and outside all healthy influence—committed by a European upon an Indian woman is thus set down as an offence committed by the Government itself, and especially when owing to any legal quibble the offender escapes punishment, the insult burns down into people's memory and vitiates their judgment of the Government.

I was at a hill station a few months ago where I was shown a house which contained, people said, a Native princess living under the protection of an Englishman who had something to do with the execution of her father and the loss of his dominions. For aught I know it may have been a case of pure romance; the girl may have absolutely thrown herself upon the gallant stranger, and I believe she is being well cared for by him now. But the Indian does not discriminate between romance and force in these matters. The caste to which the princess belonged is therefore sure to take it as an outrage; and though she herself may be happy and content in the love of her English master, her people are not likely to forget the wrong, and their conduct in times of any sudden outburst of lawlessness is sure to be influenced by the memory of this burning shame. It is not, therefore, anything that the Government itself has done that really has caused all this distrust and discontent; it is due more to the conduct of individuals, and as such the problem is much more complex than it would otherwise have been. The real danger to the British rule in India thus comes, not from the Native, whether educated or uneducated, but from Englishmen themselves. The educated classes know the difference between Englishmen in India and the British Indian Government. They know more—they know that even the officials who carry on the work of the administration are not the Government. And because they know this, they freely criticise and oppose individual officials in the interests of the very Government which these officials unworthily represent.

But the masses do not, naturally, understand these fine distinctions. They understand government by men, and not by mere constitutions or pieces of machinery. And the Indian Government is a piece of machinery. But an Oriental people do not understand or appreciate machines. "If the administration is beneficent, why are not the administrators kind?" they ask. "If the Government be really so anxious for our welfare, why does not the magistrate, when he rides across our fields, make a single kind enquiry as to how we are doing?" they question within themselves. While the magistrate makes no such friendly and homely enquiries, they find that his visits to the village mean the loss of their finest fowl and fattest goat, the loss of their newest-laid eggs and their driest firewood. That is the only practical evidence that Indian villagers generally have of an official visit. The official, I am sure, in ninety cases out of every hundred pays for all these things, but the silver goes no further than his servants or the village policemen, to whose hands it sticks for ever. Is it a wonder then that after two hundred years of the most beneficent administration England has not as yet been able to convince the Indian masses that she means well by them? British rule in India is beneficent, but not sympathetic. The English officials as a class are kind at heart, but not courteous always in conduct. But they and their countrymen should always bear in mind that though little courtesies and kindnesses cost nothing their absence may, in an Oriental country, sometimes cost an empire.—Yours, etc., BIPIN CHANDRA PAL.

Manchester College, November 22, 1898.

Sir Monier and Lady Monier-Williams have left England this week for Cannes where they will spend the winter months.

Lord Curzon of Kedleston has now completed the account of his travels upon the Indian frontier in 1894, which he began to write at the time and has continued at intervals since, and the work will be published in the spring under the title "On the Indian Frontier." The book, which will be a single volume, will relate the author's personal experiences on the Hindu Kush frontier from Kashmir to Chitral, and on the Pamirs, and will give an account of the peoples and States in those regions. No questions of policy will be raised.

Sir William Hunter is writing a detailed history of British India. He has recently completed the first volume, and it will be published early in the year by Messrs. Macmillan. Our main struggle down to the first quarter of the seventeenth century was not for the Indian coast, but for the rich spice trade of the Eastern Archipelago. How and why we were beaten in that struggle is a notable story, and Sir William Hunter tells it from the original materials. The end of our struggle was the beginning of our Indian Empire, which will be treated in four subsequent volumes.

PUBLIC MEETINGS ON INDIAN QUESTIONS.

THE WORK OF THE BRITISH COMMITTEE.

Elsewhere in the present issue of INDIA will be found reports of various meetings addressed by Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji and Mr. Romesh C. Dutt, C.I.E.

A further series of meetings in Lancashire has been arranged for Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji as follows:—December 12, Stretford; 13, Oldham; 14, Failsworth; 15, Rossendale.

Arrangements are also in progress for a series of meetings to be addressed by Mr. Naoroji early in the new year.

On January 9 Mr. Bipin Chandra Pal will deliver an address on behalf of the British Committee before the Ealing Literary and Debating Society. His subject will be "England's Responsibility for India."

Speaking on currrent politics at Kelvedon Liberal Association (Essex) on November 22, Miss Alison Garland (a lecturer on behalf of the British Committee) dealt largely with the present aspect of Indian affairs. The Rev. E. Millidge and Messrs. Pollit and Doubleday said they were glad that speakers were taking up Indian questions, and thanked the lecturer for the valuable information she had given them.

A lecture was delivered on behalf of the British Committee at Burnham-on-Crouch on November 23. There was a very full attendance. "Some Liberal Reforms for India" was the title of the address. The lecturer dwelt upon the need of reform in the assessment and collection of the land tax, reduction in military expenditure, simultaneous examinations, etc. A hearty vote of thanks to the lecturer and the chairman concluded the meeting.

At the annual meeting of the Paddington Women's Liberal Association, held at the Paddington Vestry Hall on Monday last, November 28, a lecturer on behalf of the British Committee delivered an address on the "forward" policy of the Government of India. Mr. Albert Spicer, M.P., presided, and there was a good attendance.

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